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588 684 celebrated with offerings of a pig and *sorohan agung*, and performance of the *baris* dance. A feast is given to the *kramă désă* by the family of the incestuous pair. After this the two are banished from the village for a year, not allowed even to enter the precincts of the *gĕbog satak*. The penalty [782] if they disobey is the offering of a pig to the temple Pură Balé Agung and of a goat to the temple Pură Dalĕm Pingit. When the year is up they may return to the village and must go through the usual marriage ceremonies. In case the family concerned is not able to pay all these expenses the village takes them over, seizing or putting in pawn all [958] their lands until the amount is repaid.

For more serious incest, as of a man with his brother's mother, his own mother or sister, the ceremony *mĕsakap* is the same, but there must also be the ceremonies *ngĕlungah* and *mĕsadi* as for *manak salah*. The people are banished from the village for life, and the lands of the family may be seized on the male or on the female side.

We now come to the rules for *manak salah*:

*845 539 782 If anyone bears *anak bunching*, male-female, it is called *manak salah*. The people of the village-quarter (*kramă banjar*) must move these people (the mother and the father and the two *anak salah*) to the outskirts of the village, on the south side, near the graveyard, with the entire house where the children were born, which must be taken apart and put up again outside the village. The people of the *banjar* take their turns helping, but in the matter of food the 'wrong ones' must make their own provision. The 'wrong ones' stay there one month and seven days.

When twelve days have elapsed after the birth of the children, the ceremony *ngĕlungah* (small *mĕtĕlah-tĕlah*) takes place inside the house-court where the children were born. Offerings *panchă limă*, celebrated by *balian konèng*, holy water from the *bujanggă*.

As soon as one month and seven days are up, the ceremony *mĕsadi* (big *mĕtĕlah-tĕlah*) takes place before the temple Pură Pĕnataran in the village of the people with the twins. The ceremony requires one small male pig and one female calf whose nose has not yet been punctured for the rope, skinned and spread

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this does not seem to be necessary for the twins of like sex. The ceremony takes place before the house where the disaster occurred, one month and seven days after the event, and includes building the *panggungan* in which *sorohan agung* and a pig are offered, and before this on the ground the chickens of five colors, the duck *bĕlang kalung* (white collared), a dog *bĕlang bungkĕm* (red and black with a white mouth) and a goat, set out in the five directions. Here it is called *mĕcharu*, for the *kală bută* (demons). The Pĕmangku officiates, prayers are made to the gods of the temple Pură Puseh Balé Agung, and the Pĕmangku asks for holy water with which to purify the house-court of the disaster and the whole village.

When *anak bunching*, boy and girl twins, are born, it is called *manak salah* for people of Jabă caste. The members of the *banjar* (village-quarter) beat the *kul-kul*, assemble, and remove the parents with the twins and their house to the outskirts of the village, where they must remain a month and seven days. The members of the *banjar* take turns watching over them. But for their food the family with the twins must be themselves responsible.

After one month and seven days, the ceremony for the purification of the village is held, called *mĕsadi*, with offerings for *mĕcharu* including a goat, a goose, a duck, a calf and a dog. They are set out as before, the Pĕmangku officiates, but the holy water is got from the Bujanggă. There are prayers to the gods of the temple Pură Puseh Balé Agung, and holy water is asked before the temple Pura Pĕnataran. Here also the people with the twins are purified (*mĕtĕlah-tĕlah*).

After twelve days all the gods of all the temples are carried out to be purified, as far as the boundary of the village to the North and the boundary of the village to the South. This is called *ngĕlungah*.

The expenses of the *mĕsadi* are taken over by the village if the parents of the twins are too poor, but later they must repay the village.

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by sections of families, the community and village remain the basis of mutual aid.

C. ASSOCIATIONS

1. *Cooperative societies.*—We now come to grips with a different principle, whereby persons break loose from the ordinary communal area within which mutual aid is given. Groups, which have the tendency of acting as independent units in intervillage relations, are formed with an eye to reciprocal exchange of services and goods. The more villages or other communities tend to be lax in communal endeavor, and the more individuals wish to range beyond the village in their activities, the more does the tendency to form associations assert itself. There are frequently special interests, which are met in a variety of forms of associational cooperation.

A specimen of this is the technique of loaning money called *hwe*, a form of credit union apparently borrowed from the Chinese. A number of persons pay in a definite sum each month, and each of them may use the total amount in turn ("sarikat" in Batavia, "jula jula" in Minangkabau, "mohaqka" on the island of Salayar). The associations for the slaughter of water-buffalo among the Atjeh are another example. So are the so-called burial societies that are widely distributed all over Java.

The Minahasans speak of "mapalus" societies. This word has two meanings. It refers to reciprocal assistance and to various groups formed for such purposes as cooperative aid in agriculture. This agricultural service is not only rendered to each other by the members in reciprocity, but can also be extended to outsiders for pay. Credit unions are known as "mapalus wang."

The best-known and most developed form of independent associations are those of Bali, whose interests are commercial. The Balinese "sakaha" may have two meanings, just as "mapalus" in Minahasa. It can apply to a group, which has certain primary functions to fulfill within the village and which may in addition, sometimes but by no means always, attain a degree of independence as a "society," such as the "banjar," or youths' association. Or, it can apply to an association voluntarily established outside of the desa connection for digging tunnels, harvesting fields, loaning money and giving musical performances.

We have previously noted (p. 71) the famous irrigation communities (the "subak" of Bali) with their economic basis in the possession of land and with their more or less public character.